Documentary: Joseph Clark's Letter of Resignation from the Daily Worker, See Page 2

I. F. Stone's Weekly

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Like the Beginnings of A Revolution

What we are seeing in the South is something which resembles a revolution. The government is trying to bring about a deeply unpopular change. The moderates have been counselling peaceful resistance, and undermining respect for the agencies of government. The moment has now come when leadership passes to the extremists, who advocate force and violence. The street mobs have begun to take control.

The mobs are only a handful, and those who would resort to violence are still a minority. But that minority has so much power because its aims are the wishes of the majority —to block integration. The power of the mob may be measured by the silence of the South's normal leadership. Except for the Mayor of Little Rock, no public figure has spoken up for obedience to law. No Senator from the South, no Governor, no member of Congress, no leader of the bar, has dared publicly utter a restraining word. This dead silence may prove to be the inner "eye" of a hurricane.

The Moderates Outbid

It is whispered in Washington that unless something is done soon by the Federal government the moderates will be destroyed politically. The Southern Senators only a few weeks ago looked like shrewd and skillful statesmen. Now they appear to be appeasers and quislings. How can they compete with a Governor who calls out the National Guard to prevent integration? The niceties of Senatorial footwork would look ludicrous if explained to a Southern audience which has just seen *action.*

The best the moderates offered was a long slow delaying action. To the extremists this was only a gradual form of surrender. They have taken the offensive in the border states of Arkansas and Tennessee where integration had already begun. They can claim to be pushing integration back, instead of retreating slowly before it. The extremists have outbid the moderates.

They Prepared Their Own Downfall

The moderates prepared their own downfall. In the State legislatures, the moderates enacted nullification. In Congress all last spring during the civil rights debate, the moderates helped to intensify in the South a pathological state of mind: suspicion of the Supreme Court, distrust of all Federal judges, a feeling that alien and esoteric forces were plotting against the South and its "way of life." The moderates, when a little integrity and courage might still have counted, pandered to the view that resistance to law was an almost sacred duty for white Southerners, a pious obligation they owed their past. Faubus, the mobs and the dynamiters are only acting out what the moderates taught them.

The mob itself is what mobs usually are, unstable fringe elements, eager for any occasion to vent long pent up hatreds, hatred of their own ugly selves they spew outward on whatever their social conditioning makes the target. The South has more than the normal quota of such sick souls, as it has more than the normal quota of poverty, ignorance and shiftlessness plus a frontier habit of violence. The average Southern white is probably more afraid of the mob than the average Southern Negro, since the former fears his own good instincts, which might betray him into "nigger loving" opposition. The latter may regard the mob as an almost normal recurrence of white bestiality which one may avoid without loss of self-respect.

A Void at the Helm

These human scarecrows and juvenile delinquents in the news photos and on the television screens might become a majority overnight. If they can provoke a race riot, if they can make the issue seem starkly North versus South, the United States could find itself in the gravest crisis since Fort Sumter. Every day's delay by the President, whose enormous personal prestige might be put to good use at this juncture, risks irreversible events.

Unfortunately we have a President who is nine-tenths figurehead. A figurehead must be manipulated. There seems to be no one around to tell him what to do, and so he turns up in the same picture pages, happily relaxing on the 18th green. "Mr. Brownell also informed the President," the *New York Times* reported almost tongue in cheek, "that a Nashville school had been bombed. Mr. Hagerty said the President's reaction to this had been 'the same as anyone else's would be—he thought it was a terrible thing'." The gaping walls of the Hattie Cotton school are not as terrible as this gaping vacuum in the Presidency.

If Only Little Rock Were in Syria

If the situation were not so deadly serious, one would be tempted to satirize the contrast between the airlift swiftly unloading arms 6,000 miles away in Jordan to meet an exaggerated crisis in Syria with the irresolution the government shows at home. The dangers of communism seem to arouse Washington much more quickly than those of racism, though the latter comes up in a form which is a fundamental challenge to law itself.

This is a time to see ourselves as other see us. The ugly hate filled faces of the whites in Little Rock and Nashville, the bravery of the Negro children and their parents, the Minister knocked down and beaten in Birmingham, the poor feeble-minded Negro emasculated by Klansmen just to prove their mettle, are giving the colored majority on this planet a picture of us it will be hard to eradicate. Whether here or in Algiers, the white race just doesn't seem as civilized as it claims to be.

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An Important Documentary of Our Times: The Daily Worker's Foreign Editor Explains

Why He Lost Faith in His Own Party and the Krushchev Regime

By Joseph Clark

"I was among those who greeted the progress recorded at the last convention of the Communist Party. . . . It proclaimed its independence and came out against dogmatism and sectarianism. . . . This was a natural result of the crisis in our movement following the revelations about the evil degeneration caused by Stalinist communism.

"The hope and promise of that convention have not been fulfilled. Sad confirmation is found in the record of the last National Committee meeting held July 27-28. A summary of the proceedings has been published in Party Affairs, Vol. I, No. 1. Readers will notice that instead of a search for more effective means to advance socialism the meeting took up the most incredibly irrelevant questions. For example, dozens of speakers discussed at great length what one of them quaintly called, 'the question of Joe Clark.' One after another condemned my views. A grand climax was reached with full unanimity, 'that the National Committee register its disagreement with the line of the Daily Worker foreign editor.'

Stalinist Style Refutation

"Their judgment could be perfectly correct. I am only too keenly aware of my own fallibility. But while my views and my 'line' were condemned no one could detect what my views and 'line' were. The Party Affairs bulletin reveals not a single reason, no argument, not one idea for that condemnation. As in the days of Stalin something is declared 'right' or 'wrong' with no obligation to tell why, what or how.

"Though the National Committee voted against removing me as foreign editor it explained this was because of 'its relation to outside forces at the present time, when we are still in this difficult, weak stage.' At a different stage, other steps, presumably will be in order. The fact is that I find it difficult to write as I please in the *Daily Worker*. Not that my writing is directly censored. But within the framework of harassment in the party and an obligation to those who share many of my views, but are concerned with 'proper' tactics in the inner-party struggle, I simply do not express my views as I would like to.

Opposes Support of Krushchev

". . . my view is that socialism can be served only by a complete break with Stalinism. The latter perverted socialism by substituting autocracy for democracy. . . . Are we helping socialism and the Soviet people if we seem to go along with Krushchev when he proclaimed that Malenkov was responsible for the evil that Stalin wrought? I have no doubt that Malenkov, as well as Krushchev, was implicated in those evils. But the roots of the evil require a better explanation than the 'character' of Stalin or Krushchev's latest gloss, 'Malenkov not only did not restrain Stalin, he very skillfully took advantage of Stalin's weaknesses and habits in the last year of his life! . . .

"One cannot have an independent stance, or a scrupulous regard for truth, and support the 'unity' of the Soviet Communist party behind Krushchev, as the *Daily Worker* did editorially. Since there is no prospect that a common sense, Marxist view will prevail in this regard, party membership has become incompatible with a truly socialist position.

"The only effective posture from which American Marxists can work for American-Soviet friendship—necessary if mankind is to survive in a time of hydrogen-headed ICBM weapons—is that of independence. The issue was posed directly at the last convention of the party by the letter of Jacques Duclos, who, for a second time, meddled in the affairs of the American Communist movement. . . . I refer particularly to Duclos' declaration that proletarian internationalism 'implies solidarity with the foreign policy of the Soviet Union.'

When Kadar Was Still Honest

"History is replete with instances where the opposite is true. In 1939 internationalism required support for the anti-Hitler war, not the shameful neutrality of both the French and American Communist parties. And in 1956 proletarian internationalism required solidarity with the Hungarian workers opposing Soviet intervention. It demanded support for the Hungarian workers who formed a solid phalanx of workers councils and for their 100 percent solid general strike. It meant solidarity with the views expressed by Janos Kadar in his Nov. 1 radio address, when he was still with the Hungarian masses, and said: 'Our people have proven with their blood their intention to support unflinchingly the Government's (Nagy's) efforts for the complete withdrawal of Soviet forces.' . . .

"There is no prospect that party leaders will rebuff the Duclos statement quoted above, not in generalities but with specific reference to the Duclos letter. All efforts that I made to get a specific refutation . . . were rebuffed. Therefore to remain in the party tends to lend support to the disastrously un-Marxist policy which has time and again isolated us." . . .

We present here the heart of Joseph Clark's letter of resignation as foreign editor of the Daily Worker. The text, to the paper's credit, was published in its issue of Sept. 9. We believe it will be followed one of these days by the resignation of the editor, John Gates. Clark feels, as we have ever since our visit to the Soviet Union in the spring of 1956, that the Krushchev regime represents no real break with Stalinism.—IFS.

From the Significant Reply the Daily Worker Published Next Day by John Gates, Its Editor

"The resignation of Clark is another sign of the continued decline of the Communist Party . . . the loss of 45 percent of our membership in the past year. . . . We have not yet succeeded in creating the kind of atmosphere in the Communist movement where new ideas can freely be advanced without name-calling invective and abuse. . . . The resignation of people from the Party only weakens the struggle of those who want to see the great hope and promise of the national convention fulfilled. In my opinion, the development of these policies has been retarded. . . . But they have not been destroyed or reversed. . . . I have not lost hope, as has Clark. . . ."

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Expulsion of the Teamsters Will Not Cure the Movement's Bureaucratic Ills

Labor Ought to Set Up An Independent Investigating Commission on Its Own

The expulsion of the Teamsters will not solve the problems of the labor movement, nor prevent a drive in the next Congress for restrictive legislation. If the leaders of the AFL-CIO were wise, they would ask a group of respected leaders in law, political science and the radical movement—men of the stature of Learned Hand and Norman Thomas—to investigate the internal structure of trade unionism and to recommend reforms.

It evades the point to argue, in the wake of the McClellan Committee hearings, that most labor unions are not corrupt and that many big businesses are. When a union as huge and powerful as the Teamsters can be run by men like Beck and Hoffa, the problem is not a marginal one. The corruption in the Teamster leadership has its roots in conditions which exist elsewhere in the labor movement.

As Profitable As Slot Machines

When it is possible for a labor leader to sign up a shop by a deal with the employer over the heads of the workers, without ever really organizing them, and to collect dues directly from their pay envelopes, again by arrangement with the employer, we have the seeds of a racket. A union under such circumstances can be as fruitful a source of income for a racketeer as a chain of slot machines.

Add the ease with which in some international unions, locals can be transferred, created or *purchased;* the absence within most unions of internal democracy; the lethargy, indifference or despair of rank-and-file elements; and the preference employers often show for corrupt union leaders, and you have a situation made to order for gangsters. What happened in the Teamsters can happen elsewhere in the labor movement, and has.

Essentially what we have here are *political* problems, like those in government. Trade unions have become one of our means for organizing, protecting and governing segments of society. Unfortunately they have grown up in a very undemocratic way.

Like Latin American "Presidents"

With all due respect to the many able and devoted men in the leadership of labor, the actual situation in most unions—whether honest or corrupt, left or right—is that once a man gets himself elected President, he stays in for life, like so many Latin American "Presidents." The cult of personality is a chronic disease of American trade unionism.

The retention of power begins as a tribute to ability shown, often under difficult conditions in early struggle. But power is soon perpetuated by less admirable means. Most unions are little one-party States, in which the way to advancement is through faithful adherence to the ruling party.

Too few unions have constitutional devices for regular elections, a really free ballot, and the possibility of organizing an opposition slate. The union paper is open only to the ruling party; its pages are always adorned by pictures of the Leader; its independence as journalism is on a par with *Pravda's.* It is not surprising that so few members turn up for meetings which decide nothing. This helps solidify the ruling party in power, just as the small vote in Virginia makes life easy for the Byrd machine.

Participation Is The Key

The labor movement generally displays a thickening bureaucratic crust over an indifferent or apathetic mass. Instead of militant workers of an older type, for whom trade unionism was a crusade, an education in democracy, a means for self-development through participation—and that is the key word—we have a labor movement made up to a growing extent of men who belong to unions without conviction and pay dues only because they must. This kind of a labor movement is not the kind that can weather a crisis, much less lay the foundations for a better social order.

An independent investigating body of the kind here suggested could perform a service to the American labor movement by an analysis of this internal situation and a recommended program of constitutional reform for labor unions, with a Bill of Rights for the rank and file. The mere sporadic policing of "ethical practices" from the top will not cure the evils; we need means for encouraging greater participation in the government of unions from below.

Legislative Program Needed

Is the AFL-CIO leadership capable of launching its own Counter Reformation? In the absence of such action, progressives ought to have their own legislative program. Congress can by statute establish a system of regular labor union elections, with public control of the ballot and its count, opposition ticket access to membership lists and publications, full disclosure of all financial transactions by the leadership, and a "conflict of interest" law for labor leaders. The last is particularly important to drive out the type of leadership which regards trade unionism as a business, to be run along with other business interests.

There is no doubt that Congress has the power under the commerce clause to regulate the internal affairs of trade unions, as there is no doubt of its right on the same basis to investigate labor abuses. An investigation of labor racketeering under a specific resolution, like that of the McClellan Committee, is not to be confused with an investigation of ideas protected by the First amendment. If the McClellan committee has given the labor movement a black eye, the fault lies with its own failure to clean house long ago. Without that investigation Beck and Hoffa would still be riding high. Progressive unionists ought to use the McClellan revelations to force into action those stodgier elements who have lived side by side with corruptionists for many years, quite comfortably.

REMINDER: I. F. Stone to speak on disarmament, "Will Mankind Destroy Itself?" in Chicago (Eugene V. Debs Forum), Sept. 20, Curtis Hall, 410 S. Michigan; in Detroit (Labor Forum), Sept. 21, Central YWCA, 2230 Witherell at Montcalm; and in Toronto (Socialist Forum), Sept. 22, in United Steel Workers Hall, 35 Cecil Street, Time: 8 p.m.

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Soviet Bloc Five Years Ago in UN Laid Basis for Debate on Hungary

That Dulles Retreat on China May Foreshadow Stricter Travel Restrictions

It was Senator Knowland, that pillar of the China lobby, who forced Secretary Dulles to reverse himself on visas for Chinese Communists and permission for Americans to visit Bulgaria. In both cases the Senator wanted action in order to make it possible for California to be host in 1960 to the winter Olympics. Red China, Bulgaria and Albania are all members of the International Olympic Committee (meeting Sept. 20 in Sofia) and the rules require invitations for all members. But the State Department in retreating has laid the basis for a broader attack on the right to travel. Until now restrictions have been linked to Communist party membership or cooperation with its aims. But the announcement on Bulgaria said passports will be allowed for that country if the State Department believes such travel "in the national interest" and newsmen who apply do so in the wake of Mr. Dulles's new doctrine of August 27 that they have "an obligation to be responsive" to U. S. foreign policy. This means (1) that the Department would no longer feel obliged to allege or prove Communist connections in denying passports and (2) that newsmen who get passports may have their dispatches scrutinized to see if they were "responsive" to U. S. foreign policy.

Precedent for Hungary: Just five years ago (Sept. 12, 1952) the Soviet bloc voted with the majority in the UN General Assembly to override South Africa's protests against interference with its "internal affairs" and the UN condemned *apartheid* legislation as a violation of fundamental human rights. . . . Peter Fryer, the correspondent who quit the London *Daily Worker* when it refused to print his dispatches on the Hungarian revolution, notes in his *Newsletter* (180 Clapham High St., London, SW 4) that the only real white Terrorist the Kadar regime has been able to discover since that revolution was 69-year-old Mihaly Kiss, and he was executed for crimes committed in 1919. . . . The London *Sunday Times* (Sept. 1) reports that Soviet plans to stage a spectacular trial linking Imre Nagy with Western imperialism before the UN General Assembly meeting have broken down. The kidnapped former Prime Minister had a dangerous heart attack just before the revolution and the usual methods for extorting the necessary confession cannot be applied. . . . The quality of the present regime was etched unmistakably in Janos Kadar's speech on August 20, "The imperialists say our system is cruel, but our workers and peasants say it is not cruel enough."

Worth Wider Attention: Frank Gervasi from Damascus in the *New York Post* (Sept. 5) reported an interview with Khaled Azem, Syria's defense minister, fresh from a successful trade mission to Moscow, in which "for the first time since the end of the Arab-Israeli war in 1947 an Arab leader has spoken publicly of the possibility of peace with the Jewish state." Azem hinted there might be peace in "two, five or ten years, given a long period of quiet on the frontiers. . . ." **They Still Like to Be Led:** "The ideal of our citizens," Reinhold Maier, head of the right of center Free Democrats said in an unusual election campaign speech in Heidelberg, "is simply to turn their cares over to a leader and to think no more about it. That was the case with Bismarck. Then it was repeated with Kaiser Wilhelm II. Then came Hindenberg, and we know what came after that. And now our citizens have their Adenauer." . . .

State Dept's New Policy Planner: Of Gerard C. Smith, the Department's new Assistant Secretary of State for Policy Planning, the Washington Post said in an editorial (Sept. 5) that though once assistant to former AEC Commissioner Thomas E. Murray, Smith "later seemed to reflect the essentially narrow approach of Lewis Strauss and Admiral Radford. Associates say, however, that Mr. Smith is broader than this. . . ." **Upsetting the Middle East:** The Italian Embassy in Washington, asked about reports that the U. S. was trying to block the new oil agreement between Iran and Italy, said no official protest had been made but that there had been some informal discussion on the matter. Italy's oil deal with Iran would give the latter 75 percent of the profits. U. S. and British oil companies fear this will upset their 50-50 deals elsewhere in the Middle East. . . . **Shadow Over TVA:** With the recess appointment of former Deputy Budget Director Arnold Jones, the board of TVA will now be dominated for the first time in its history by men hostile to it. In opposition to public power of any kind, the Eisenhower Administration is consistently not "modern" Republican. Senators Hill, Kefauver and Sparkman blocked the Jones appointment and will fight it when Congress reconvenes. . . .

Reminder: the Israeli press, commemorating the fifth anniversary last month of the murder of the Soviet Union's Yiddish writers, noted that the Russian government had yet to make a public statement admitting the "mistake" and rehabilitating the dead. . . . **Odd:** "Nobody is bothering him for it," Walter Winchell reported in the *New York Mirror* (Sept. 4), "but Red spy catcher Boris Morros owes Uncle Sam a whopping tax bill." . . . **Danger Signal:** the latest Federal Reserve Board report shows consumer credit reached an all-time peak at the end of July at $42,360 billion, of which 32.7 was installment debt. Automobile credit also set a record high, at 15.3 billion.

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